

for the work assigned, if you be prompt enough. Clear off arrears of neglected duty; and once the disheartening accumulations of the past are overtaken, let not this mountain of difficulty rise against you. Proceed to the duties of the present and the assurance of a future which rejoices in abundant occupation; and you will soon find the easiness of that repose which follows finished work, and the zest of that recreation in which no delinquent feeling mingles, and on which no neglected day throws.

*—A dialogue between two persons—*

—Thou Christian!—A woman must indeed be bold to risk her happiness for the mere chance of her attractions and influence alluring the selfish corrupted heart of a wandering from vice and dissipation. But her husband's peace and goodly inheritance, and welfare would soon be less important in his eyes than the turn of a wheel or the speed of a horse, for such is the occupation and aim of his life—*Christian Herd.*

—Believe nothing against another, but upon good authority; nor repeat what may hurt another, unless it be a greater injury to others to conceal it.

—A good man has well remarked that *jesting* upon serious subjects is ever the mark of a shallow and superficial mind; poor in ideas, and rich in words.



## THE TRUE AMERICAN.

This is our fifty-second number, and it is met that we should address ourselves especially to our friends in and out of Kentucky.

On the 3d of June, 1845, the first number was issued, at Lexington, Ky. On the 18th of August thereafter, a mob took forcible possession of the types and press of the True American, and removed them to Cincinnati, declaring that no free journal should be published in the state. This interrupted the regular publication of the paper; but it was re-issued on the 9th of September following, and has since appeared regularly and without any further lawless interruption.

The main object of the paper, is to prepare the public mind in Kentucky for universal freedom, and it is natural that our friends should ask, what progress has been made towards this great end? This enquiry we will answer.

The difficulties attending any move, looking to the abolition of Slavery, are manifold and hard to be overcome. We knew them to be great; but they are far greater than we had apprehended at the start. There is no form of selfishness which has not been used to defeat our object. There are no means whereby men could be driven, or frightened, from our support, which have not been applied. Social tyranny in its most odious shape has been resorted to wherever freemen have dared to take the True American, and large combinations have been entered into, in various counties, to overawe those citizens who had declared themselves in favor of freedom of speech and of it.

But, notwithstanding these vast difficulties, our friends have steadily increased in Kentucky, East Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia. We number near 1500 subscribers in these States—eleven hundred of whom are non-slaveholding whites. We give below the average increase of the first week in May, June, and July in them.

	May.	June.	July.
Kentucky	11	10	9
East Tennessee	3	2	7
Virginia	3	3	8

This, though by no means a rapid, is yet a large increase under all the circumstances, and especially when we remember the constant endeavors of slaveholders to stop the circulation of the True American, and the situation, as well as condition, of a large majority of those who subscribe for it. We are not well versed in newspaper statistics. We cannot, therefore, give any idea of the number who probably read it. Friends who are familiar with this subject say, that each copy is read by at least ten persons. If so, then this paper has FIFTY THOUSAND READERS IN THE SLAVE STATES.

In either view, that is, taking its actual subscription list, or the probable number of those who see it regularly, we may safely declare, that no paper, openly devoted to freedom, ever had so strong a foothold in the midst of Slavery.

Let us now proceed to some general considerations which possibly may be deemed worthy of attention by friends at home, and abroad.

1. The necessity of having a free press in the Slave States.

This is necessary—vital—to the anti-slavery men in them. No one unacquainted with the situation of a Kentucky *opposed* to slavery, can well conceive the importance of his having an Organ wherein he may express his opinions, and defend himself from outward assault. It acts, on the one hand, as a stimulus to exertion, and, on the other, shields him from violence. We publish letters from friends expressing strong anti-slavery sentiments, and we do so in the face of the fact that it may occasion difficulties to the writers of them. And we believe this would be the case, were it not from the fear of the condemnation that would follow any violence towards them in the True American, and, through it, in the whole press of the free States. And so with regard to counties which have, apparently, become inoculated with the spirit of freedom. We do not believe the slaveholders in them would consent to their formation of anti-slavery societies without a strong effort to put them down. Even with a press in the State, we fear some such effort will yet be made. If otherwise, we may attribute it wholly to this one cause.

To stop the True American, then, at the present time, would be to scatter the liberty material now gathered and gathered, and throw back those causes which are slowly, but surely preparing the public mind for universal Emancipation.

A free press, again, is essential to the progress and elevation of the *white laboring classes of Kentucky*. Few know the hardships they have to bear. None can over-estimate the rank oppression which necessarily degrades them. There is no class of men in the wide universe more ready to bleed for their country—to help along the poor and the suffering—to do what is right, as regards all others. They are generally poor in purse; but they are rich in warm affection and generous purposes. As fathers, they know that their children have not the opportunities they ought to have under a free government; and, as men, they feel that this is a wrong which should not be tolerated if it could be legally removed. But they can neither write nor speak. And this knowledge and feeling must forever remain buried in their bosoms, if there be no press to speak out for them—to teach them to speak out—to break their habit of silence, and of obedience, which long use has formed wherever slaveholders act—to make them familiar with their rights and duties—and, when so familiar, to teach them to defend themselves, like men, in the social circle, and at the ballot-box, against the festering curses of slavery. They can be thus educated. Give them the means, and they have the spirit. Confer upon them the power, and they will regenerate themselves and the State. But how can this be done except through the instrumentality of a free press in their midst?

But if we go beyond both the considerations we have named, and look to the Union itself, we shall find abundant cause for the encouragement of such a paper as the True American. The aggressive character of slavery is well understood. Its arrogance, and insulting abuse of power, are familiar to every intelligent citizen. How the free States have borne all this we need not state. But there is a point where endurance ceases to be a virtue, and that point they have almost reached. It is useless to disguise from our readers the fact, that men of judgment, and sobriety of thought, tremble for the perpetuity of the Union in consequence of pro-slavery action, and we very much fear, if the free States believed in the continuance of the peculiar institution, that they would ere long surrender the ties which now bind these United States together. Against this mighty evil we would struggle while a ray of hope was left us, and as one means—as the best means, in our humble opinion—we would sustain a free press in a slave State. That would be in itself a strong bond of union. For so long as anti-slavery had foothold in the slave States, so long would freemen everywhere, cling to the conviction that the great curse could be rooted out, and therein be great, that our country might yet be free, in fact, as well as name. Nothing could more effectually keep down sectional disputes within bearable limits, or soothe the harsher asperities, which contests about slavery awaken, between the North and the South. In this particular, we should regard the suspension of the True American, or any paper situated as it is, almost as a national calamity.

## 2. The importance of having a free press especially in Kentucky, for the general abolition of slavery.

This State, in our opinion, is the field for action. Its position—its interests and the character of its people, as a whole, make it the best battle ground for freedom. Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee have all their mountain regions, but they have what is peculiar to them, "a low country"—that is, a *strictly planting region, where slavery is deeply rooted*. This region was first settled, and it has managed so to frame the constitutions of these States, and to frame their laws, as to give them every political advantage. Take Virginia as an example. The western part of this State is measurably in favor of freedom; it has the numerical strength; yet it is tied down by a constitutional favoritism secured to Eastern Virginia. The same is true of North Carolina, and Tennessee. But fortunately Kentucky is entirely exempt from all such difficulties, as all parts of it possess equal privileges, and would be, in the end, equally benefited by an act of universal freedom.

And if we compare Kentucky with Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee, we shall find her *readier* than either (if prepared as they all are) in every respect for the work of emancipation. First, we have a longer line of border country. That is free. True, the inhabitants in the border counties lose their slaves are more bitter against freedom, in the onset, than almost any other class of our people. But after awhile, they see it is their interest to have no slaves around or about them, and become emancipationists, if not decided anti-slavery men. Secondly, the character of our people for energy—for action—is higher than that of either of the States named. We have escaped, owing to our position, some of the baneful influences of slavery, and are not so controlled or subdued by it. The pulpit is freer. Social conversation about slavery is more open and general, and the public mind riper for action. Thirdly, the internal difficulties to be overcome are less. We have fewer slaves, and fewer owners of them in proportion to the whole population. We know not, indeed, in what large slave State there exists greater incentive to action, or better means by which that action may be conducted, in a course of years, to a successful issue.

Besides, we think the establishment of universal liberty in Kentucky would do more to break down slavery in the whole Union. Look at it geographically. It is set in as a wedge between Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, and if made free would leave a longer border line, and produce results that would shake the institution to the very centre. Slaveholders understand this. Hence they are exerting all their power to stop the discussion of slavery in this State, and to arrest the spread of any and all doctrines at all calculated to excite, or deepen, the hatred of the people against it. Let the reader, if he would understand this part of the subject, spread out his map before him, and fix his eye upon this city, Lexington, travel due south, as far as Knoxville, Tennessee; let him thence go east, until he reaches Morgan or Rutherford, North Carolina; let him then start due north, or a little east of north, until he reaches the south line of Pennsylvania; thence to the Ohio river, and back to the place of beginning. This is a vast region of country. Yet it is all, by position, anti-slavery. God never intended it to be trod by slaves, and man cannot long so debase it. The Quaker influence in it; the fact that in East Tennessee the Methodists will not adhere to the Church South as a pro-slavery Church; the further fact that in years gone by the people on the head waters of the Tennessee, in conjunction with parts of North Carolina and Virginia, protested against slavery, and desired to establish a free State to be called Franconia; the small number of slaves in the mountain counties, Ashe county, in North Carolina, for instance, out of a population of twelve or thirteen thousand souls, having only some two hundred blacks; all these things prove that this region is destined to be free, and that if liberty it will be free *despite of the low country, or the planting interest in it*. No power can prevent it. It would follow as a matter of course. To give up, then, any anti-slavery ground gained in this State; to let the free press in it fall, would be fatal, in our view, to the progress of the cause of freedom.

We have thus stated some of the reasons which induce us to believe the maintenance of the True American essential to the progress of liberty. It is but just, however, that we should say plainly and directly to the friends of freedom in the free States, that this cannot be done, unless they stand by it. We furnish the True American to non-slaveholding white subscribers at a dollar for the year, and if the subscription elsewhere was so large as to pay more than the expenses, we would scatter the paper in every log cabin in Kentucky where it would be received and read. We have no pecuniary interest or aim in this matter. We have another employment which takes up our time during the day, and we devote hours which should be given often to rest, and often still to our family, to the True American. Without leisure to think out carefully all that we say, or time to condense and correct, we give honest vent to our feelings and expression to our arguments, in defence of liberty. It was not always so with us. We remember the time when we bought and sold human beings as unconcernedly, as if they had been brutes of the field, and now, that we see our error, and know the deep, deep sin it has entailed upon us, we would labor night and day to wake our countrymen to the enormity of the evil which is crushing them and their children, and stamping the very impress of God with degradation. Believing the True American to be an instrument in working out this great result, we earnestly devote ourselves to it, and as earnestly ask the friends of freedom to sustain it!

## The Outside.

The reader will find some valuable matter on the first and fourth pages. We have omitted our usual variety in order to make room for it.

Parade's Message to Congress is well worthy an attentive perusal. It is an important chapter in the history of our merciless aggressions upon Mexico. And then, Santa Anna's plan of revolutionizing that country—heartless, because seeking to sever his native land when he should strive to unite it. These, with the passage of the tariff bill in the House, and our able correspondent's letter on emancipation, will be found interesting, as well as instructive.

## A Sinner.

We don't like sinners. Give us open denunciation, any time, before them. The Baltimore Visitor undertakes to indulge in sneers when speaking of C. M. Clay's new character, and in reply to a question he asks, says:

"It seems to us that a far more important question would be this: 'Where are your principles?'"

These principles, we say to him, are unchanged. The same, now, as before; and this the future will prove.

It is not the duty—certainly not the policy—of anti-slavery men to weaken their friends at home or abroad. Mr. Clay has ever defended them, even when it cost something to do it. But the Baltimore Visitor appears disposed to pursue an opposite course.

We will not retort upon him. But this we would say, that we have enough to do in uniting our whole strength to put down a common foe. Is it not better to keep this object in view, rather than indulge in abuse of each other?

## Slaveholders.

We are glad to receive letters frequently from slaveholders. They need not fear expressing themselves just as they think, to us; for that is what we want. When men get so near each other that they can reason together, without quarrelling, they will be very apt, before they separate, to unite in action, as well as in opinion.

We are no advocates for vindictive contests. They invariably hurt men into extremes, and engender party hate, or personal hostility, making reconciliation difficult, and any thing like unity of action an impossibility. We are satisfied, if we were met in a like temper by slaveholders, that they would not assail our motives, or turn a deaf ear to our arguments.

One of them, a by-gone friend, writes us a kindly letter. He says he stands as a living example of the expression of the bard—"The passions wait upon the judgment"—and then proceeds to remark:

"You know that I treat my slaves well. I have done so from my youth up. They love me, and I love them. But freedom is their right, and if made general in Kentucky, it would be for my interest. I do not object, therefore, to any argument you may adduce in favor of emancipation, immediate and universal, with or without remuneration. I do object, however, to the manner in which you appeal to the poor non-slaveholding whites. There are many of them settled around your plantation. They are content with their lot, and do not regard slavery as an evil to them. Why make them discontented, or put notions into their heads that they can't carry out, or persuade them that they are gentlemen, when they have no means or ability to sustain the character? Demagogues may do this; it does not become you. And, I assure you, no good will grow out of it."

What our friend says of himself is true. We know of no kinder master in Kentucky. He is a pattern for slaveholders, and does all in his power to make slavery tolerable.

But we doubt the fulness of his belief in what he asserts. "Freedom," he says, "is the right of the slave." If so, why hold them? How can he, indeed, if this be in truth his opinion? The very moment he admits the right to freedom in the blacks, that moment, as a Christian and a man, he is bound to give it to them.

"If made general," that is freedom, he adds, "emancipation would be to my interest." Why not to his interest in his particular case? We do not understand, we are sure, how, if universal freedom would prove so beneficial to him, the immediate emancipation of his own slaves would not tend to the same result. His farm would produce more, working it as he does, by voluntary labor, and the effect of his example would go far to assert the right.

The truth is, our friend has a good theory; but nothing more. He does not possess that kind of belief which makes a man act. But we rejoice that he holds to this theory, and still more do we rejoice to know, that "the great majority of his neighbors concur with him in opinion." It is a good sign—one that promises much.

Our friend objects to the manner in which we appeal to the poor non-slaveholding whites. We regret this. It is not in his nature, knowingly, to oppress any one; and, we have no doubt that he thinks he does full justice to the poor whites "settled around his plantation."

But, for all this, we regard him as his oppressor. "They are," he says, "content." And why? Either because oppression has made them indifferent to the wrongs they suffer, or because they are so ignorant as not to feel those wrongs; or else, feeling they bear them, because they can't help themselves. What chance have they? What opportunities have their children? They are borne down every way, and what is more, they are kept down, without the possibility, as we are ever rising while slavery continues.

Take the opinion of the slaves themselves, in proof of this assertion.

They invariably treat a poor white man with contempt. We do not mean that they rudely insult him to his face—though sometimes they do that—but that they speak of him, and act towards him as a degraded being. "Poor Bucks," is a negro term of reproach all over the far South. And where do they get this feeling? Where are they taught to treat with contempt and contumely the poor white people around them? They learn it from their masters, and their masters' overseers—from their masters' wives and children. It is the state of feeling in the upper classes, and the poor ignorant slaves only reflect it back in a ruder, harsher form. And would our friend have any free white citizen of Kentucky be content under such wrongs? Would he be content to see his own children, and the children of his neighbors, degraded by the same? Would he be content to see his own noble boy in the condition of any of the sons of the poor non-slaveholding whites, "settled around his plantation?"

England can hold her own at the north, but Mexico cannot do so in the south. Now as a matter of duty, we feel bound to resist with all our power and ability, feeble though it may be, every effort of the South, whether made by Democrats or Whigs, to confine this a slave government. We never advocated the annexation of Texas with any other view than that, as it was already a slave country, by receiving it into the Union the effect would be to draw off the slaves from the middle States, rendering the latter free, and thereby reducing, instead of increasing, slave territory. We go for enlarging the area of freedom, not of slavery. Since the South have fixed boundaries for free territory, let the North fix boundaries for slave territory South.

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## The Contrast.

It is amusing to contrast the tone of the Southern Press, and the Southern Representatives in Congress, on the subject of the tariff, and the Northern Press and the Northern Representatives on the subject of Oregon—we mean that portion that held to 54° 40'.

There is boldness, decision, and energy in the former. They denounce and threaten as if they were the lords of the universe. Said Mr. Seaborn Jones of Georgia, when speaking on the tariff in the House of Representatives, and twitted with the *Panic* faith of the South, "Oh! excuse us—excuse the slaveholders—when their interest compels them to break their promises to the North; but gentlemen of the North, you must not violate promises made to slaveholders." Say the leading Southern Press, when just out of breath with its bitter denunciation of Western rapacity, and Northern avarice, as if it were innocent and guiltless as the infant.

"Down with the treachery of those free State Representatives in Congress, who dare oppose the great measures of the South and the country, and let their names be held up to public scorn."

And it is thus ever that the South acts when she has a point to carry. She braves every opposition, and breaks it down, and then laughs at and spurns from her the very men she has frightened into her support. Who of these time-servers get a third or fourth office? What one among them receives in honor, or treasury pay, one fig's work? Such men as Romulus Saunders—a clever man in his way, but of very ordinary ability—will be appointed a minister to one of the Courts of Europe, when Brinkerhoff—far superior to him in intellect and business qualification, cannot obtain, by begging for it, a paymaster's office in the army! Of what stuff are these North men made of! Have they been cajoled and cuffed about so much by and for the South, until they have lost their self-respect as well as their courage? They stand in contrast continually to Southern members as the intelligent slave does to his master. They may implore, remonstrate, and even threaten; but they dare not set out their thoughts and purposes. They cover at the very moment they should stand up, and let Southern lords know they had a place to fill, and that they meant to fill it.

But this subservience is necessary, perhaps, to make good men bold, and the people true. None of us can forget Hale, and New Hampshire. It was the shawl, and arrogance of slavery which snapt asunder the chains that bound this man and made him free, and the glorious defenders of the free!—And thus will it be again. The slave power will yield nothing of its arrogance, and oppression, until the people of the free States are forced in self-defence, as well as in self-respect, to see their duty as Christian freemen. Let the South strike away, then! There is music in the sound of its lash; for not a blow does it give that will not prepare the way for newer and wider conquests in behalf of liberty.

Mr. Brinkerhoff's Speech.

We ask attention to this gentleman's speech, and to his vote on the tariff bill. They will be found in sad contradiction.

Many of the Eastern presses regard this speech, and the tone of some of the Democratic presses in Ohio, as proof that the Democracy of the West would not much longer submit to Southern rapacity. We had not much hope, so far as Mr. Brinkerhoff is concerned, when we read the *motives* that impelled him to speak as he did. That motive was office, and its spoils. Western men had not been properly cared for by Mr. Polk, and therefore, Western members would not support his tariff bill—this is the sum and substance of the Ohio gentleman's argument.

But then the grounds taken in his speech, as well as the positions assumed by the Democratic press, do afford us a large hope. They tell us this fact—that there is a settled determination on the part of the free States, which is growing stronger, and stronger every day, with all parties, not to allow any further enlargement of the area of slavery. The South knows how to fix the Northern limit of free territory West. And the people of the non-slaveholding States, Whig and Democrat, are asking seriously and earnestly, where is the limit to slave territory? Enquires the Cleveland Plain Dealer, on this point.

It is the Sabine, the Nueces, or the Rio Grande! Are not our republican friends now south of the last mentioned line? Is it not said that California is soon to be ours, and perhaps the whole of Mexico? We know but too the next jump of the slave boundary may be to the latitudes of Darien! We go for enlarging the area of freedom, not of slavery. Since the South have fixed boundaries for free territory, let the North fix boundaries for slave territory South.

England can hold her own at the north, but Mexico cannot do so in the south. Now as a matter of duty, we feel bound to resist with all our power and ability, feeble though it may be, every effort of the South, whether made by Democrats or Whigs, to confine this a slave government. We never advocated the annexation of Texas with any other view than that, as it was already a slave country, by receiving it into the Union the effect would be to draw off the slaves from the middle States, rendering the latter free, and thereby reducing, instead of increasing, slave territory. We go for enlarging the area of freedom, not of slavery. Since the South have fixed boundaries for free territory, let the North fix boundaries for slave territory South.

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This image shows a blank, aged, cream-colored page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf of a book. The paper has a slightly textured appearance with some minor discoloration and a small dark spot near the top center. A dark horizontal band is visible along the bottom edge, possibly indicating the binding or the edge of the book block.



1870



*[The page contains faint, illegible vertical text.]*